DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 260 395 CS 209 036

AUTHOR Lawson, Linda
TITLE Inter Press Service and the New York Times: A Content Analysis Study of Press Coverage of the U. S. Invasion into Grenada.
PUB DATE Aug 85
NOTE 34p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (68th, Memphis, TN, August 3-6, 1985).
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Comparative Analysis; Content Analysis; Credibility; Developing Nations; *Media Research; *News Media; *News Reporting; *Press Opinion
IDENTIFIERS Grenada; Inter Press Service; News Agencies; News Sources; New York Times; United States

ABSTRACT

A study was conducted to compare coverage of the United States invasion of Grenada provided by the Third World news agency Inter Press Service (IPS) during October and November 1984, with that provided by the "New York Times." The study instrument tested the direction, themes, sources quoted, and location of the stories. The theme categories were designed to determine whether developmental issues remained IPS's primary focus while covering a hard-news story and whether the "New York Times" went beyond the event to provide more process-oriented coverage. The study involved 99 stories from IPA and 100 stories from the "New York Times." Almost one-half of the stories investigated were neutral or balanced in their treatment of the Grenada situation. One-third of IPS's stories were critical of the U.S. action, and almost 30% of the "New York Times" stories were negative in tone. The findings discredited the criticism hurled between Western media proponents and Third World leaders on the quality of each others' news services. Inter Press Service did not show an anti-Western bias in its coverage; neither did the "New York Times always support the U.S. position. The "Times" provided more interpretative, process-oriented stories than IPS, which focused more on the hard news elements of the situation. Both agencies used predominantly official sources; however, the "Times" quoted more "non-elites" than did the IPS. A five-page bibliography and seven tables are appended. (Author/HTH)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED260395

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

X This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

INTER PRESS SERVICE AND THE NEW YORK TIMES: A CONTENT ANALYSIS STUDY OF PRESS COVERAGE OF THE U.S. INVASION INTO GRENADA

By

Linda Lawson
Doctoral Student
School of Communications, DS-40
University of Washington
Seattle, WA 98105
206-543-2660

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Linda Lawson

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

Paper presented to the International Communication Division, AEJMC Annual Convention, Memphis, TN, August 3-6, 1985.

CS 209 036

INTER PRESS SERVICE AND THE NEW YORK TIMES: A CONTENT ANALYSIS STUDY OF PRESS COVERAGE OF THE U.S. INVASION INTO GRENADA

Linda Lawson
Doctoral Student
School of Communications, DS-40
University of Washington
Seattle, WA 98195
206-543-2660

ABSTRACT

The U.S. invasion into Grenada provides a unique opportunity to study the news coverage of Inter Press Service, the Third World news agency, with that of the New York Times.

This paper analyzes the news agencies' coverage from Oct. 14, 1984, through Nov. 30, 1984. The study instrument tested the direction, themes, sources quoted and location of the stories. The theme categories were designed to determine whether developmental issues remained IPS's primary focus while covering a hard-news story and whether the New York Times went beyond the event to provide more process-oriented coverage.

The findings tend to discredit the criticisms hurled between Western media proponents and Third World leaders on the quality of each other's news services. Inter Press Service did not show an anti-Western bias in its coverage; neither did the New York Times always support the U.S. position. The Times provided more interpretative, process-oriented stories than IPS, which focused more on the hard-news elements of the situation. Both agencies predominantly used official sources; however, the Times quoted more "non-elites" than Inter Press Service.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction	1 - 3
Method	4 - 7
Findings	7 - 13
Conclusions	13 - 14
End Notes	15 - 16
Bibliography	17 - 21

Table 1: Direction of Story
Table 2: Frequencies of Datelines
Table 3A: Frequencies of Primary Topic
Table 3B: Frequencies of Secondary Topics
Table 4A: Frequencies of Primary Source
Table 4B: Elite and Non-Elite Primary Sources
Table 5A: Frequencies of Second Source
Table 5B: Elite and Non-Elite Second Sources
Table 6A: Frequencies of Third Source
Table 6B: Elite and Non-Elite Third Sources
Table 7A: Frequencies of Fourth Source
Table 7B: Elite and Non-Elite Fourth Sources

For copies of the codebook and story logs, please write to the author at the address on the title page.

Media experts from both developed and developing countries generally accept that a news imbalance exists in the Third World. Information emanating from developed nations, especially the United States, flows ceaselessly into Third World countries while little news comes out of them.[1] The information that does permeate into Western media about the Third World often deals with "coups and earthquakes" - the unusual, often negative, events that fit Western news values.[2] Little coverage is devoted to understanding the developing countries' cultures, uniqueness or developmental progress.[3]

Third World leaders feel that they and their countries are being misrepresented and often maligned in the world media.[4] Among other things, they advocate a more process-oriented, development-focused approach to news rather than the hard-news, inverted pyramid style of newswriting prevalent in the Western news media. They feel international reporters should know and understand the country's culture and its people before reporting about it.[5] These leaders also stress the need for South-South news flow - developing countries sharing news and information with each other rather than receiving it from the North.[6] These perceived needs became demands in the UNESCO debate surrounding the concept of the new international information order (NIIO).

As world attention focused on these issues, one international news organization came into the limelight. Inter Press Service (IPS), a non-profit news dissemination agency, specializes in news from the Third World. This agency, formed in 1964 to improve the news flow from Latin America to Europe, promotes the type of news reporting advocated by Third World leaders.[7] Its news orientation is on themes supporting South-South cooperation, regional integration and national development policies.[8] Its audience is "the Third World and news media in the North that have an interest in Third World issues."[9] It is not, however, interested in competing with the Western news agencies in the coverage of spot news events.[10] As IPS's Director General Roberto Savio explained, "We will not be partisan but we will give space to events and actions which we think are not well represented now."[11]

Western critics, however, say that the agency is indeed partisan. Leonard Marks, former director of the U.S. Information Agency and secretary-treasurer of the World Press Freedom Committee, was quoted in a June 1981 article in the Washington Star as saying that, "Inter Press Service is a private institution that many American press people think has a bias against the West."[12] Leonard Sussman, executive director of Freedom House and a member of the World Press Freedom Committee, is suspicious of IPS since it contracts with U.N. agencies and national news agencies to carry their materials. Sussman contends that those ties mix economic and political objectives with journalism.[13] Critics also claim that IPS weaves an anti-Western theme into its news stories and promotes a Marxist-Socialist political ideology.

IPS asserts that it provides balanced news coverage - "as objectively as AP and UPI" - while reporting on events and processes usually overlooked by the Western media.[14] The few content analyses that have been conducted

on IPS's stories point to the differences in story content among Western news agencies and Inter Press Service which make comparative studies examining these charges and disclaimers virtually impossible.[15] However, the U.S. intervention in Grenada on Oct. 25, 1984, provides an ideal opportunity to compare IPS's coverage with coverage from the Western news media.

This paper will examine the differences and similarities of coverage of this hard news event by Inter Press Service and the New York Times. It will specifically address the following questions: Does the New York Times' coverage tend to support or refute Third World criticisms of the Western news media? Does Inter Press Service's coverage tend to support or refute Western critics' accusations about the anti-Western slant of the Third World news agency? How well does the Inter Press Service follow its philosophy of balanced, process-oriented news emphasizing the non-elite while covering a spot news event featuring a Western giant and a tiny Third World country?

METHOD

The author conducted a content analysis study of the coverage given to the U.S. intervention in Grenada by the Inter Press Service and the New York Times. Interlink News Service, a non-profit Third World news distribution organization based in New York City, provided copies of all of IPS's stories on Grenada distributed in the United States from Oct. 14, 1984, through November 1984. In order to achieve a representative and proportionate sample of New York Times' stories, the author examined every fourth story listed in the New York Times' Index on Grenada during the same time period. When the fourth listing was an editorial, a commentary, a transcript, a map or a photograph, the following story was selected. This

time span covers the days immediately preceding the U.S. invasion of Grenada on Oct. 25, 1984, and includes coverage of Grenada's Prime Minister Maurice Bishop's house arrest and subsequent murder on Oct. 20, 1984. It also includes coverage of the aftermath of the invasion and the early withdrawals of American soldiers.

The study involved 99 stories from Inter Press Service (the total coverage) and 100 stories from the New York Times.

Instrument Design.

The study instrument was designed to test the direction, themes and location of the stories as well as the sources quoted. Other variables included the date and length of story. The author coded each story as having one main topic and up to three subsidiary topics. The 19 possible topics included the U.S. invasion, internal conflict/crisis, diplomatic/political activity between states, student matters, human rights, East-West division, economic aid, military aid and the like. The topic categories provided an opportunity for analysis on whether developmental issues remained IPS's primary focus while covering an event story and whether the New York Times went beyond the event to provide more process-oriented, interpretative coverage. Most of the categories were extracted from previous content analyses studies conducted by C. Anthony Giffard, associate professor of communications at the University of Washington.[16]

Coder Reliability.

The author coded all of the stories. Many variables produced exact coding; no interpretation was necessary in determining the correct code for the following categories: dates (day and

month), number of lines per story, and location where story originated.

The attribution classification also yielded straight-forward coding. Codes were developed to cover all categories of actors or sources quoted. Consequently, no sources were lost in an "other" category. The author determined the ranking of sources (first, second, third, fourth) by the number of times mentioned in the story. In most cases, the primary source was quoted in the story's lead and referred to throughout the story as the main attribution. The second, third and fourth sources (when the stories contained four different sources) were determined by counting the times they were quoted in the story.

Only three source categories needed any type of interpretation by the author; the others were self-explanatory. These categories were unidentified sources, reporter's conclusions and factual information. The author used the unidentified sources category when the story referred to "analysts," "experts," "persons in authority" and the like without actually identifying the source or his or her affiliation. The factual information category was used when the reporter included unattributed facts in the story - facts which were common knowledge or which could have been obtained from various sources. To illustrate, both Inter Press Service and the New York Times carried stories or parts of stories familiarizing their audiences with Grenada's history and location in the Caribbean. For these cases, the author used the factual information category when coding for attribution.

The author used the reporter's conclusion category when elements of the story clearly reflected the reporter's opinions, interpretations or speculations. For example, in a Nov. 1, 1984, story filed from St. George's, Grenada, IPS's reporter Frank Campbell wrote, "Ironically, this pro-invasion sentiment appears to have been fueled by the assassination of

Maurice Bishop, the man who both predicted and opposed the invasion of Grenada." Since Campbell did not attribute this speculation to anyone, it was assumed that the statement reflected his opinion and was placed in the reporter's conclusions category.

Coding for the direction of the story required the author to determine the tone or flavor of the article toward the U.S. action based on seven criteria: Unqualified positive, qualified positive, unqualified negative, qualified negative, balanced, neutral and unrelated to U.S. action. The story was coded unqualified positive or unqualified negative when it presented either a totally positive, glowing account of the U.S. action or a completely condemning view. Examples of these stories include New York Times' stories on the Rangers' triumphant return to the United States (unqualified positive) and the media's response to President Reagan's refusal to allow reporters on Grenada immediately following the invasion (unqualified negative).

The qualified positive and qualified negative codes were used when the story distinctly featured a judgmental tone regarding the action but contained at least minimal reference to the other side. For example, stories which quoted extensively Cuban officials highly critical of the United States would sometimes contain at least one or two statements attributed to U.S. sources supportive of the intervention. These accounts would be classified qualified negative in direction.

The balanced code was chosen when the story presented both positions clearly and equally by quoting sources for and against the U.S. action. The neutral code was used when the article focused on the reporting of facts or events without addressing the controversial nature of the issue. Stories not dealing with the U.S. action (for example, stories written

before the Maurice Bishop's house arrest) were coded as unrelated.

The final area of coding dealt with story content. Each story was coded by main topic or theme and up to three subsidiary topics based on 19 variables relating to event-oriented and development-oriented themes. As discussed under the Instrument Design section, these topics were exclusive of one another and self-explanatory.

FINDINGS

Direction of Stories

Almost one-half of the stories investigated were neutral or balanced in their treatment of the Grenada situation. The New York Times' stories fell into these categories 47.9 percent of the time with 31.6 percent weighed as neutral and 16.3 percent as balanced. This finding is similar to the results of Professor Maximilian Gottschlich's study on the media consonance shown in Eastern-bloc and Western media coverage of this incident. The University of Vienna professor concluded that the Western media demonstrated a clear tendency to illustrate the event with facts rather than to take a clear position on the U.S. intervention.[17] Inter Press Service seemed to follow this same disposition since 44.8 percent of its stories ranged in the neutral and balanced categories. (Please see Table 1) This may be surprising to some critics who say that IPS is basically a propaganda machine for dispersing anti-Western sentiment.

One-third of IPS's stories were indeed critical of the U.S. action. Likewise, almost 30 percent of the New York Times' stories were negative in tone. Many of these stories from both agencies sharply criticized the restrictions placed on the press by the Reagan administration and other Caribbean governments. IPS's reports focused on how the human rights of Caribbean reporters were violated by governments supportive of the U.S.

action. For example, in several stories, IPS described the situation of Rickey Singh, a Guyanese journalist and editor of the regionally circulated newspaper, Caribbean Contact, who had his work permit revoked by the Barbados government immediately after the paper carried articles criticizing the U.S. invasion.

The New York Times emphasized the Reagan administration's unprecedented refusal to allow reporters on Grenada during and immediately following the invasion and the difficulties in reporting the news after the restrictions were partially lifted. While the two agencies' emphasis on the press freedom issue differed, the negativity shown in their stories towards the imposed press limitations was similar.

IPS did, however, carry more unqualified negative stories (11.2%) about the action than the New York Times (5.1%). The IPS stories often quoted Caribbean opposition leaders who almost uniformly condemned the U.S. invasion. For example, several stories quoted extensively leaders in Jamaica's People's National Party and in Guyana's Working People's Alliance criticizing their governments for supporting the United States. The New York Times' articles studied never quoted a Caribbean opposition leader. (Please see Tables 4A - 7A.) On the other hand, the New York Times' unqualified negative stories were about the press restrictions and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's condemnation of the U.S. action.

Stories for both agencies also fell in the positive direction categories. Few stories were unqualified positive; 4.1% for IPS, 6.1% for the New York Times. These stories described the Grenadians' support for the U.S. intervention in the case of IPS and the New York Times' coverage of the Rangers' triumphant return to the United States. The qualified positive category made up slightly more than 12 percent of the total

stories (10.2% for IPS, 15.3% for NYT). These stories discussed the Caribbean support of and request for the U.S. action, the Grenadians' support of the U.S. military presence, the discovery of documents showing the Cuban and, indirectly, the Soviet interest in Grenada, and the successful rescue of the American medical students. The New York Times, particularly, reported positively on the student element.

Topics of Stories

More than 70 percent of all of the stories studied dealt primarily with the actual invasion of Grenada (31%), the diplomatic maneuvering resulting from the invasion (27.4%) or Grenada's internal conflict (13.7%) - all topics integrally involved with the event itself. (Please see Table 3-A) Interestingly, IPS's coverage of these issues made up almost 80% of its total stories while the New York Times devoted 45.35% to these issues. The Times' stories also emphasized the student element (8.2%), military aid (8.2%), human rights (7.1%), East-West division (5.1%) and human interest (5.1%).

These findings may seem surprising since Inter Press Service is known for its process news orientation and the New York Times for its hard news approach.[18] On the surface, it may seem like the findings should be reversed with IPS writing more about human rights and military aid while the Times focusing more on the event. However, on closer analysis, the data are understandable since the two news services were emphasizing the concerns of their respective audiences. American readers would want to know how the military intervention was going to affect them and other Americans in terms of budgetary costs (military aid), national security (East-West division as well as diplomacy), and from the human dimension (students and human interest). The Third World audience of IPS would be

interested in information on the invasion and its aftermath, the internal conflict within Grenada which resulted in Bishop's death and the subsequent invasion, and the diplomatic relationships, especially in the Caribbean, which might prevent or encourage a similar occurrence.

It is also understandable that neither medium focused primarily on typical development issues such as social problems, North-South division, corruption, equality, refugees, East-West detente or educational, medical or food aid.

Secondary themes within the stories seemed to reinforce the above observations. (Please see Table 3-B) Both agencies continued to focus on themes related directly to their audiences. For example, IPS rarely mentioned the student factor (1%) while the New York Times addressed that issue in more than 10 percent of its stories. However, both agencies attempted to broaden their coverage somewhat to include at least the financial aid element of development news. More than 17 percent of Inter Press Service's stories focused on broad financial aid/development issues while 15.3 percent of the Times' stories emphasized these topics as secondary themes. These issues included military aid, social aid and industrial aid to repair and complete Grenada's airfield.

Other development issues such as East/West detente, equality, refugees and tourism received less than two percent of the total coverage.

Location of Stories

More than 40 percent of the stories studied originated in the United States with 32.1 percent coming out of the Caribbean and less than 10 percent from Grenada, Central America or Europe. No stories had datelines from the Soviet Union or other Soviet-bloc countries except Cuba with 3.6 percent of the total stories from Havana. Less than three percent came from India and only one story originated from Africa. (Please see Table 2)

The dateline for stories differed substantially between Inter Press Service and the New York Times. As expected, almost 60 percent of the Times' stories came from the United States with more than one-third originating from Washington, D.C. and almost one-sixth from New York City. Inter Press Service generated more than 45% of its stories from the Caribbean with more than one-half coming out of Kingston, Jamaica, its Caribbean headquarters.[19] The New York Times filed no stories from Kingston.

St. George's or Point Salines in Grenada were the datelines for slightly more than 12 percent of the Times' stories but only three percent of IPS's stories. This finding is not surprising when one remembers that U.S. officials approved and closely supervised what reporters were allowed to enter Grenada after the invasion.

Data on Havana, Cuba, are more surprising. More than six percent of the Times' stories carried Havana datelines while only one IPS story was filed from there. The New York Times' stories, however, can be explained by Fidel Castro's invitation to the Western media to visit Cuba and to learn first-hand how Cuba and its people were victims of the Reagan administration's deceit. Reasons for the lack of Inter Press Service's stories from Cuba are unclear unless, perhaps, the agency wanted to minimize speculation on its Cuban relationship.

Slightly more IPS's stories originated from Central America and Europe than Times' stories (8% to 5% from Central America; 7.1% to 5.1% from Europe) but no particular country was highlighted. Both agencies often filed only one story per country such as in the cases of Caracas, Madrid, Harare, Montreal, Managua, Bonn, Medellin, Canberra and Paramaribo. These stories customarily gave the official statement

from the respective country on the U.S. action.

Sources of Stories

The sources quoted most frequently in both news services' stories paralleled closely the dateline findings as discussed in the preceding section. The New York Times quoted U.S. sources, particularly Pentagon officials, more than 56 percent of the time while the Inter Press Service used Caribbean sources in more than 37 percent of its stories. (Please see Table 4-A) IPS quoted American sources, usually State Department officials, almost 36 percent of the time but the Times rarely quoted Caribbean leaders (6.1%). In fact, IPS quoted more Grenadian people as its number one source than the Times (9% to 5%) even though only three percent of its stories originated from Grenada while more than 12 percent of the Times' stories came from that country.

Inter Press Service also quoted more officials from international organizations, such as the United Nations, the British Commonwealth and the Organization of Eastern Caribbean states, than the Times (10.1% to 6.1%) and used slightly more Third World sources (4.0% to 2.0%). The New York Times quoted more Cuban officials (5.1% to 2.0%).

Both news services had the identical percentage of stories using unidentified sources and reporter's conclusions as their primary source (5.1% for unidentified sources; 4.1% for reporter's conclusions). This is a significant finding considering some critics' contention that Inter Press Service intentionally slants its coverage against Western interests through subjective reporting.

Inter Press Service and the New York Times also used almost the same percentage of official sources (70.1% for IPS; 71.4% for NYT) in their stories. (Please see Table 4-B) The Times relied heavier on government officials (59.1% to 47.8%) while IPS quoted twice as many media sources

(13.2% to 6.2%). This may be partially explained by the fact that the Times' stories originated more often in Washington, D.C. - a city full of government officials - while many IPS's stories came from the Caribbean - a region which often relies on the media for official news.

Interestingly, the Times quoted substantially more "common" people than IPS (15.3% to 3.0%) but this could be explained by the Times' coverage of the American medical students in Grenada, their families' reactions and the students' return to the United States. Nevertheless, IPS's lack of non-elite sources calls into question one of its stated fundamental goals - representation of the masses.[20] While IPS did quote opposition leaders from several Caribbean countries, it rarely quoted other non-elites. Other content analyses on IPS's stories discovered similar results leading Pablo Giussani, former chief editor in Rome, to concede that it is much easier and less expensive to report official sources than the non-elite.[21]

Data on sources 2, 3 and 4 reveal similar source preferences. (Please see Table 5A through Table 7-B)

CONCLUSIONS

The findings suggest that criticisms hurled between Western media proponents and Third World leaders on the quality of each other's news services were not legitimatized and, in some cases, were even refuted by the two services' coverage of the Grenada event. Inter Press Service did not show an anti-Western, pro-Third World bias in its stories even though the nature of the event under study could have intrinsically led to such coverage. Similarly, the Times did not present a pro-Western slant in its coverage for a substantial amount of its stories fell in the negative category.

Furthermore, Inter Press Service did not handle the Grenada situation largely in a process-oriented fashion by focusing on themes which typically are identified with developmental news. Rather the vast amount of its coverage consisted of factual stories on the invasion, diplomatic relations and the political conflict within Grenada. In fact, the New York Times' coverage contained more interpretative themes than IPS. But both news services seemed to follow the same traditional rule for newswriting - write for one's audience. The Times was writing for readers wondering how the military intervention was going to affect them and other Americans in terms of national security, budgetary costs and from the human dimension. IPS's Third World audience would logically be interested in information on the invasion and its aftermath, the internal conflict within Grenada which resulted in Bishop's death and the subsequent invasion, and the diplomatic relationships, especially in the Caribbean, which might prevent or encourage a similar occurrence.

Locations of stories did differ between the two news services. Most of the New York Times' stories originated from the United States while almost 50 percent of Inter Press Service's stories came from the Caribbean. This is not surprising. However, it is interesting that the Times filed more stories from Cuba than IPS, even though IPS has an office in Havana. Perhaps sensitivity toward allegations about its anti-Western bias led IPS's reporters away from Cuban datelines and sources.

Analysis of source usage also produced interesting findings. Both agencies overwhelmingly quoted official sources even though one of Inter Press Service's stated goals is to report on the masses - a goal it finds lacking in the Western media. Ironically, the Times quoted substantially

more "common" people than IPS although this could be a deviation from its normal reporting because of the human interest element in the Grenada situation (the American medical students in Grenada).

In summary, this study suggests that the coverage provided by the New York Times and the Inter Press Service of the U.S. intervention into Grenada was similar in nature and tended to refute many of the criticisms hurled at each medium by its critics.

END NOTES

1. William A. Hachten. The World News Prism: Changing Media, Clashing Ideologies. (Ames, IA: Iowa State University Press) 1981, p. 101.

2. Ibid., p. 95.

3. C. Anthony Giffard. "Developed and Developing Nation News in U.S. Wire Service Files to Asia." Journalism Quarterly 61, 1 (Spring 1984) p. 19.

4. Mustapha Masmoudi. "The New World Information Order." Journal of Communication (Spring 1979) p. 172-185.

5. J. Clement Jones. Mass Media Codes of Ethics and Councils. (Paris: UNESCO) 1980, p. 78.

6. L. John Martin and Anju Grover Chaudhary. Comparative Mass Media Systems. (New York City: Longman Inc.) 1983, p. 57.

7. Ibid.

8. C. Anthony Giffard. "Inter Press Service: News from the Third World." Journal of Communication 34, 4 (Autumn 1984), p. 44.

9. Ibid., p. 51.

10. Ibid., p. 57.

11. Ibid., p. 50.

12. Ibid., p. 55.

13. Ibid.

14. Ibid., p. 52.

15. C. Anthony Giffard. "Inter Press Service: New Information for a New Order." Paper presented to the Association for Education in Journalism, Corvallis, Oregon, August 1983 and "Inter Press Service: News from the Third World." Journal of Communication 34, 4 (Autumn 1984) p. 41-59.

16. Ibid.

17. Maximilian Gottschlich. "Grenada - A Case Study of Media Consonance in East and West." Paper presented at the Seventh World Media Conference, Tokyo, Japan. November 19-22, 1984, p. 10.

18. Giffard, "Inter Press Service: News from the Third World." p. 44.

19. Ibid., p. 47.

20. Ibid., p. 51.

21. Ibid.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

Anderson, Michael H. A Primer on the MacBride Commission and Communication Policies for Tomorrow. (Honolulu: East-West Communication Institute) 1980.

Boyd-Barrett, Oliver. The International News Agencies. (London: Constable) 1980.

Ganley, Oswald H & Gladys. To Inform or Control? The New Communications Network. (New York: McGraw Hill Co.) 1982.

Gunter, Jonathan. The United States and the Debate on the World Information Order. (Washington, D.C: Academy for Educational Development, Inc.) 1979.

Hachten, William A. The World News Prism: Changing Media, Clashing Ideologies. (Ames: The Iowa State University Press) 1982.

International Commission for the Study of Communications Problems (MacBride Commission). Many Voices, One World: Communications and Society Today and Tomorrow, Report on a New World Communications Order. (Paris: UNESCO) 1980.

Jones, J. Clement. Mass Media Codes of Ethics and Councils. (Paris: UNESCO) 1980.

Martin, L. John; Chaudhary, Grover. Comparative Mass Media Systems. (New York City: Longman, Inc.) 1983.

Merrill, John Calhoun; Fischer, Heinz-Dietrich; eds. International and Intercultural Communication. (New York: Hastings House Publishers) 1976.

Nordenstreng, Kaarle; Schiller, Herbert I. National Sovereignty and International Communication: A Reader. (Norwood, N.J: Ablex Publishing Corp.) 1979.

Smith, Anthony. The Geopolitics of Information: How Western Culture Dominates the World. (New York: Oxford University Press) 1980.

Journal Articles and Periodicals

Aggarwala, Narinder K. "A Third World Perspective on the News." Freedom at Issue 46 (May-June 1978) p. 13-20.

_____. "Press Freedom: A Third World View." Exchange (Winter 1978) p. 18-20.

Androunas, Elena and Zassoursky. "Protecting the Sovereignty of Information." Righter, Rosemary. "Who Won?" Nordenstreng, Kaarle. "Behind the Semantics--A Strategic Design." Journal of Communication (Spring 1979) p. 186 ff.

Bortnick, Jane. "International Information Flow: The Developing World Perspective." Cornell International Law Journal 14 (Summer 1981) p. 333-353.

Bullen, Dana. "UNESCO and Press Freedom: The Acapulco Conference." Index on Censorship (March 1982) p. 24-25.

Bullion, Stuart James. "NWICO: The Fork in the Road." Freedom at Issue 66 (May-June 1982) p. 12-14, 23.

Chapa, Miguel Angel Granados. "Freedom of Expression and Responsibility within the Framework of the New International Information Order." The Democratic Journalist (November 1982) p. 12-13, 19-23.

Fitzmaurice, William. "New World Information and Communication Organization: Is the International Programme of Communication the Answer?" New York University Journal of International Law and Politics 15 (Summer 1983) p. 953-97.

Freedom House's Board of Trustee. "Freedom House Views on the UNESCO Declaration 'Governing the Contribution of the Mass Media' and Other Proposals to Control the Free Press." Freedom at Issue 48 (November-December 1978) p. 10-12.

Giffard, C. Anthony. "Developed and Developing Nation News in U.S. Wire Service Files to Asia." Journalism Quarterly 61, 1 (Spring 1984) p. 14-19.

_____. "Inter Press Service: News from the Third World." Journal of Communication 34, 1 (Autumn 1984) p. 41-59.

"Governmental Control of Press Advanced by UNESCO Conference." Freedom at Issue 37 (September-October 1976) p. 2-5.

Hall, Peter. "What's All the Fuss About Inter Press?" Columbia Journalism Review (January/February 1982) p. 53-57.

Hanson E. "Freedom of the Press: Is It Threatened in the United Nations?" ABA Journal 37 (June 1951) p. 417-20, 477-8.

Masmoudi, Mustapha. "The New World Information Order." Journal of Communication (Spring 1979) p. 172-185.

Mergui, Raphael. "UNESCO: The State and the Media." Index on Censorship (January 1981) p. 23-25.

"Mexico Declaration." International Organization of Journalist's Newsletter (June 1980) p. 3-4.

"New World Information Order: A Legal Framework for Debate." Case Western Reserve Journal on International Law 14 (Spring 1982) p. 387-418.

Righter, Rosemary. "UNESCO and Press Freedom: The Next Round." Index on Censorship (March 1982) p. 21-23.

Savio, Roberto and Phil Harris. "Inter Press Service: The NIIO in Practice." Media Development (1980) p. 38-42.

"Should U.S. Withdraw From UNESCO?" U.S. News and World Report (January 9, 1984) p. 34.

Sussman, Leonard R. "A Fateful Year for the News Media." Freedom at Issue 39 (January-February 1977) p. 2-4.

_____. "My Turn. Who Rules the World's News?" Newsweek (October 21, 1978) p. 15.

_____. "Press Controls: UNESCO's '80 Biennial Will Focus on 'Action'." Freedom at Issue 57 (September-October 1980) p. 8-11.

_____. "Press Freedom in 1978. Journalists Suffered Even as General Freedom Rose." Freedom at Issue 49 (January-February 1979) p. 15-20.

_____. "Press Freedom in 1979: Press Limited at Home in Two-Thirds of Nations, Slightly Freer Internationally; MacBride Commission Rejects Censorship, Licensing; Ethics Code; Will Call for New Institute to Probe Journalist." Freedom at Issue 54 (January-February 1980) p. 15-17, 20.

_____. "Press Licensing, Penalties for 'Errors' Proposed anew at UNESCO." Freedom at Issue 51 (May-June 1979) p. 3-8.

_____. "The Meaning of Words." Freedom at Issue (November-December 1983) p. 25-28.

_____. "UNESCO Declaration--Best of Bad Alternatives." Freedom at Issue (January-February 1979) p. 16-17.

"The Talloires Declaration." Freedom at Issue 62 (September-October 1981) p. 21.

"UN Agency Postpones Action on New Information Network." Presstime (February 1982).

"UNESCO and U.S. Financial Support: An Advisory on the Issues." Freedom at Issue 40 (March-April 1977) p. 2-3.

"U.S. to UNESCO: Shape Up or We Leave." U.S. News and World Report (January 9, 1984) p. 7.

"Voices of Freedom '83: Report from Talloires." Freedom at Issue (November-December 1983) p. 23-24.

Newspapers

Bernstein, Richard. "What Went Wrong at the United Nations?" Seattle Times (January 22, 1984) p. A29.

Carmody, Deirdre. "Press Worried by Third World's Move to Restrict Flow of News." New York Times (July 19, 1976) p. 7.

Dunphy, Harry. "UNESCO Conference Ends Work on Communications." Associated Press wire story. (Nov. 25, 1983).

"International Big Brother." Washington Post (October 21, 1980) p. A20.

Kamm, Henry. "The Third World Rapidly Turning Into a Closed World for the Foreign Correspondent." New York Times (January 14, 1976) p. 12.

Conference Papers, Speeches

Agee, Warren K. "Drying Streams of International News: Journalism Organizations Respond to Threats to World Press Freedom." Paper presented at the International Communication Division, Association for Educators in Journalism, Annual Convention, Houston, TX. August 7, 1979.

Aggarwala, N.K. Statement before the New York Law School International Law Society. May 21, 1982.

Friedheim, Jerry W. (American Newspaper Publishers Association). Letter to Amadou-Malatar M'Bow, director-general, UNESCO, Paris, France. May 29, 1980.

Gottschlich, Maximilian. "Grenada - A Case Study of Media Consonance in East and West." Paper presented at the Seventh World Media Conference, Tokyo, Japan. November 19-22, 1984.

Harley, William G. "The New World Information Order: Confrontation or Cooperation with the Third World--An American View." Paper presented at the U.S.-Japan Symposium on International Communications. Boston, MA. October 11-14, 1979.

Inter Press Service. "New Information Order: Strategies for the 1980s." Summary Report on Rome Seminar. September 13-14, 1982.

Osolnik, Bogdan. "Aims and Approaches to a New International Communication Order." Paper presented at the Third Session of International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems. July 1978.

Sussman, Leonard R. "UNESCO/Belgrade: A Landmark?" Paper #22. April 1981.

Government Documents

Interim Report of the International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems. (Paris: UNESCO) 1978.

Power, Sarah Goddard. The Communication Revolution. Department of State Current Policy Number 254. December 5, 1980.

"Twenty-first UNESCO General Conference: Assessment of Information and Communication Issues." Department of State.

U.S. Congress. "International Information Flow: Forging a New Framework; 32nd Report Together with Additional Views." 96th Congress, First Session. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office) 1980. Report Number 96-1535.

U.S. Congress. "Review of U.S. Participation in UNESCO: House Resolution 142." Hearings and Markup before the Subcommittees on International Operations and on Human Rights and International Organizations of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. House of Representatives. 97th Congress, First Session. March 10, July 9, July 16, 1981. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office) 1981.

U.S. Congress. "The Role and Control of International Communications and Information." 95th Congress, First Session. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office) 1977.

U.S. Congress. "UNESCO and Freedom of Information." Hearings before the House Subcommittee on International Organizations of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. House of Representatives. 96th Congress, First Session. July 9, 1979. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office) 1979.

TABLE 1

Direction of Story by Agency

Direction	IPS	NYT	TOTAL
Unqualified Positive	4.1%	6.1%	5.1%
Qualified Positive	10.2	15.3	12.7
Unqualified Negative	11.2	5.1	8.1
Qualified Negative	22.4	18.4	20.3
Balanced	22.4	16.3	19.3
Neutral	22.4	31.6	26.9
Unrelated	7.1	7.1	7.1
Missing Information	.2	.1	0.5
TOTAL PERCENTAGE	100.0	100.0	100.0

N=197 Stories

Direction by Positive and Negative Categories

Positive	14.3%	21.4%	17.8%
Negative	33.6	23.5	28.4
Balanced/Neutral	44.8	47.9	46.2
Other	7.3	7.2	7.6
TOTAL PERCENTAGE	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 2

Frequencies of Datelines by Agency

CITY	IPS	NYT	PERCENTAGE OF N
Washington, D.C.	19.4%	34.7%	26.9%
New York City, NY	9.2	17.3	13.2
Kingston, Jamaica	24.5	0.0	12.2
Bridgetown, Barbados	10.2	10.2	10.2
St. George's, Grenada	3.0	11.2	7.1
Castries, St. Lucia	9.2	0.0	4.6
London, England	4.1	4.1	4.1
Georgetown, Guyana	6.0	1.0	3.6
Havana, Cuba	1.0	6.1	3.6
New Dehli, India	4.1	1.0	2.5
Port of Spain, Trinidad and Tobago	2.0	1.0	1.5
Paris, France	2.0	0.0	1.0
Mexico City, Mexico	0.0	2.0	1.0
Caracas, Venezuela	1.0	0.0	0.5
Madrid, Spain	1.0	0.0	0.5
Harare, Zimbabwe	1.0	0.0	0.5
Montreal, Canada	1.0	0.0	0.5
Managua, Nicaragua	1.0	0.0	0.5
Tallahassee, FL	0.0	1.0	0.5
Paramaribo, Suriname	0.0	1.0	0.5
Short Hills, NJ	0.0	1.0	0.5
Bonn, W. Germany	0.0	1.0	0.5
Charleston, SC	0.0	1.0	0.5
Medellin, Colombia	0.0	1.0	0.5
Canberra, Australia	0.0	1.0	0.5
Point Salines, Grenada	0.0	1.0	0.5
Miami, FL	0.0	1.0	0.5
Hunter Army Airfield, GA	0.0	1.0	0.5
Ottawa, Canada	0.0	1.0	0.5
Missing Information	0.0	0.0	0.5
TOTAL PERCENTAGE	100.0	100.0	100.0

N=197 stories

Regional Datelines by Agency

United States	28.6%	57.0%	42.6%
Caribbean Nations	46.9	17.3	32.1
Grenada	3.0	12.2	7.6
Central America	8.0	5.0	6.6
European Nations	7.1	5.1	6.1
Other	6.4	3.4	5.0
TOTAL PERCENTAGE	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 3-A

Frequencies of Primary Topic by Agency

TOPICS	IPS	NYT	PERCENTAGE OF N
Invasion	27.6%	34.7%	31.0%
Diplomacy	35.7	19.4	27.4
Internal Conflict	18.4	9.2	13.7
Military Aid	3.1	8.2	5.6
Human Rights	2.0	7.1	4.6
Students	0.0	8.2	4.1
East/West Division	3.1	5.1	4.1
Human Interest	1.0	5.1	3.0
Economic Aid	4.1	1.0	2.5
Industrial Aid	2.0	1.0	1.5
Independence	1.0	1.0	1.0
Tourism	1.0	0.0	0.5
Other Aid	0.0	0.0	0.0
Social Problems	0.0	0.0	0.0
North/South Division	0.0	0.0	0.0
Corruption	0.0	0.0	0.0
Equality	0.0	0.0	0.0
Refugees	0.0	0.0	0.0
East/West Detente	0.0	0.0	0.0
Missing Information	1.0	0.0	1.0
TOTAL PERCENTAGE	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 3-B

Frequencies of Secondary Topics by Agency

TOPICS	IPS	NYT	PERCENTAGE OF N
Invasion	59.2%	49.0%	53.8%
Diplomacy	35.7	31.6	33.5
East/West Division	27.6	30.6	28.9
Internal Conflict	23.5	13.3	18.3
Human Interest	11.2	18.4	14.7
Independence	16.3	10.2	13.2
Human Rights	15.3	10.2	12.7
Corruption	10.2	7.1	8.6
Military Aid	3.1	9.2	6.1
Students	1.0	11.2	6.1
North/South Division	7.1	2.0	4.6
Economic Aid	7.1	1.0	4.1
Industrial Aid	3.1	4.1	3.6
Social Problems	5.1	2.0	3.6
Other Aid	4.1	1.0	2.5
East/West Detente	0.0	3.1	1.5
Equality	2.0	0.0	1.0
Refugees	0.0	0.0	0.0
Tourism	0.0	0.0	0.0
Missing Information	1.0	0.0	1.0
TOTAL PERCENTAGE	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 4-A

Frequencies of Primary Source by Agency

REGION	IPS	NYT	PERCENTAGE OF N
United States	15.2%	56.2%	35.6%
Caribbean Nations	35.7	6.1	20.8
Grenada	9.0	5.0	7.0
Int'l Organizations	10.1	6.1	8.1
Western Nations	5.1	7.1	6.1
Cuba	2.0	5.1	3.5
Third World Nations	4.0	2.0	3.0
Other			
Unidentified	5.1	5.1	5.1
Reporter	4.1	4.1	4.1
Facts	9.2	3.1	6.1
Missing Information	.5	0.1	0.6
TOTAL PERCENTAGE	100.0	100.0	100.0

N=197

TABLE 4-B

Elite and Non-Elite Primary Sources by Agency

SOURCES	IPS	NYT	PERCENTAGE OF N
Official			
Government	47.8%	59.1%	53.3%
Media	13.2	6.2	9.6
Int'l Agencies	9.1	6.1	7.6
Unofficial			
People	3.0	15.3	9.6
Opposition Parties	6.1	0.0	3.0
Private Int'l Groups	1.0	1.0	1.0
Other	19.8	12.3	15.9
TOTAL PERCENTAGE	100.0	100.0	100.0

N=197

TABLE 5-A

Frequencies of Second Source by Agency

REGION	IPS	NYT	PERCENTAGE OF N
United States	9.3%	40.9%	24.7%
Caribbean Nations	11.4	7.6	9.5
Grenada	14.6	4.4	9.5
Int'l Organizations	2.1	1.0	1.6
Western Nations	2.0	1.0	1.6
Cuba	1.0	3.2	2.1
Third World Nations	2.1	1.0	1.6
Other			
Unidentified	12.5	4.3	8.4
Reporter	7.3	6.5	6.8
Facts	37.5	30.1	33.7
Missing Information	0.2	0.0	0.5
TOTAL PERCENTAGE	100.0	100.0	100.0

N=197

TABLE 5-B

Elite and Non-Elite Second Sources by Agency

SOURCE	IPS	NYT	PERCENTAGE OF N
Official			
Government	25.0%	39.9%	32.0%
Media	9.3	9.7	9.6
Int'l Agencies	2.1	1.1	1.6
Unofficial			
People	5.1	8.7	6.9
Opposition Parties	1.0	0.0	0.5
Private Int'l Groups	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other	54.5	40.6	49.4
TOTAL PERCENTAGE	100.0	100.0	100.0

N=197

TABLE 6-A

Frequencies of Third Source by Agency

REGION	IPS	NYT	PERCENTAGE OF N
United States	9.8%	21.3%	15.1%
Caribbean Nations	15.4	8.1	12.1
Grenada	11.2	11.4	11.3
Int'l Organizations	5.6	0.0	3.1
Western Nations	4.2	4.9	4.6
Cuba	2.8	3.3	3.0
Third World Nations	0.0	3.2	1.6
Other			
Unidentified	12.7	6.6	9.8
Reporter	15.5	9.8	12.8
Facts	22.5	31.1	26.3
Missing Information	0.3	0.3	0.3
TOTAL PERCENTAGE	100.0	100.0	100.0

N=197

Elite and Non-Elite Third Sources by Agency

SOURCE	IPS	NYT	PERCENTAGE OF N
Official			
Government	33.6%	39.2%	36.3%
Media	4.2	9.8	6.8
Int'l Agencies	5.6	0.0	3.1
Unofficial			
People	5.6	3.2	4.6
Opposition Parties	0.0	0.0	0.0
Private Int'l Groups	0.0	0.0	0.0
Other	51.0	47.8	49.2
TOTAL PERCENTAGE	100.0	100.0	100.0

N=197

TABLE 7-A

Frequencies of Fourth Source by Agency

REGION	IPS	NYT	PERCENTAGE OF N
United States	16.3%	26.0%	20.8%
Caribbean Nations	20.4	4.3	12.5
Grenada	14.1	15.2	14.5
Int'l Organizations	4.0	4.4	4.1
Western Nations	4.0	4.4	4.2
Cuba	0.0	4.3	2.1
Third World Nations	0.0	2.2	1.0
Other			
Unidentified	8.2	6.5	7.3
Reporter	18.4	10.9	14.6
Facts	14.3	21.7	17.7
Missing Information	0.3	0.1	1.2
TOTAL PERCENTAGE	100.0	100.0	100.0

N=197

Elite and Non-Elite Fourth Sources by Agency

SOURCE	IPS	NYT	PERCENTAGE OF N
Official			
Government	34.6%	41.2%	37.5%
Media	14.1	6.5	10.3
Int'l Agencies	0.0	2.2	1.0
Unofficial			
People	6.1	8.7	7.3
Opposition Parties	0.0	0.0	0.0
Private Int'l Groups	4.0	2.2	3.2
Other	41.2	39.2	40.8
TOTAL PERCENTAGE	100.0	100.0	100.0

N=197